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ered of her child. She kills and buries it in the ground or in the snow. If the girl points out the father of her child, her father or brothers endeavor to pommel him. In olden times cohabitation out of wedlock with a girl sometimes led to wars between the families to which the young people belonged. After reaching maturity, the girl sleeps in her combination-suit, the make[1] of which prevents unexpected violence. When strangers sleep in the house over night, girls do not undress at all, and sleep together in one bed. As we shall see later on, the bride also resists the bridegroom at the beginning of their married life, symbolizing her innocence and inaccessibility.

The girl is as inaccessible to the bridegroom while he serves for her as to a stranger. Intercourse of a bride with her bridegroom before the termination of his service is deemed a sin. Oftentimes, during the period of a young man's service, the girl goes away from her parental home to live with her relatives. In one myth it is told[2] that the sister of Cloud-Man was let down to earth pending her bridegroom's service.

Different rules for a girl's conduct are found among the tribes nearest to the Koryak. Maidenly chastity is valued very little among the Chukchee, says Bogoras.[3] Krasheninnikoff says of the ancient Kamchadal, "Though fond of women, this tribe is not so jealous as the Koryak. In marriages the signs of virginity are not considered, and some claim that the young men find fault with their mothers-in-law when they discover their wives to be virgin, but this I cannot assert to be authentic."[4] In my work on the Yukaghir I shall speak more fully of their custom of placing guests on the beds of the girls.

Dittmar states that a Koryak girl who had intercourse with a man was severely punished, and that her own father shot her;[5] but Krasheninnikoff asserts, in a passage which I shall touch upon again farther on, that the Maritime Koryak offered their wives and daughters to their guests.[6] In another passage[7] he says that among the Reindeer Koryak the bridegroom sleeps with his bride during the period of service. I think that these data were recorded by Krasheninnikoff on the authority of the Cossacks, who might have confused the Chukchee customs with those of the Koryak, or simply invented this statement. This seems the more probable, since not even the Chukchee offer their daughters to their guests.

In the myths of the Koryak we do not find a single allusion to such an order of things. On the contrary, we find episodes of an opposite character. The girls are generally kept in a secret place,[8] or they are hidden during

[1] See p. 589.
[2] See Part I, p. 131.
[3] See Bogoras, Brief Report on the Investigations among the Chukchee of the Kolyma District, p. 36.
[4] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 169.
[5] See Dittmar, Die Korjäken, p. 32.
[6] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 202.
[7] Ibid., II, p. 22.
[8] See Part I, pp. 125, 176, 291, 302.

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In antiquity, as the Koryak relate, the match-maker, too, had to do all manner of house-work during the bridegroom's sojourn in the house of the bride's parents. This evidently was considered a test of the bridegroom's relatives. The custom of having the match-maker perform the duties of a servant in the house of the bride's parents is still widespread among many Chukchee.[1] 584 171

A very characteristic story of match-making among the Indighirka Chukchee was related to me by a Reindeer Yukaghir who sued for the hand of a Chukchee girl in behalf of his brother. His brother had fallen in love with a Chukchee girl; but her father, a wealthy reindeer-breeder, did not want the bridegroom, not because the latter was a poor Yukaghir, but because he thought him a bad herdsman. Then the girl herself went to the Yukaghir family, and engaged there in household duties with the other women. By virtue of the custom of hospitality, she was not asked what she had come for. Thus three days had passed. The kinsman of the Yukaghir would have had no objection to this marriage, if they had not feared, that, owing to the girl's wilful leaving of her parental home, her father would refuse to give up her share of reindeer. On the third day the young man's elder brother said to the Chukchee girl, "We do not act the way you do. Go with me to your father's house, and I shall press the suit for your hand." The Chukchee girl went with him in silence. On the way he broke a quantity of dry twigs, placed them by the hearth, took the buckets, fetched water, and did other household work. "In vain do you, old man, do that which women can do," said the Chukchee host to the Yukaghir." — "I have come to press suit for your daughter's hand," the Yukaghir replied. "Why should you sue for it? She ran away to your house of her own accord," the Chukchee said, railing at the Yukaghir. After that the Yukaghir stubbornly persisted in doing all tasks about the house, and the Chukchee spoke to him no more. A few days later the Chukchee somehow said aloud to his house-fellows, as is their habit, "I am going out to stool." The Yukaghir went out after him; and, while the Chukchee was satisfying nature's demands, the Yukaghir tore up a quantity of soft grass and handed it to him. This humiliation at last touched the Chukchee. He put the bundle of grass to use. Then he entered the house and told the Yukaghir that he might send his brother to serve for his daughter.

MARRIAGE. — When the bride's father has decided that it is time to end the probation service, he tells the bridegroom that he may seize the bride; i. e., marry her. There are no marriage rites or festivities whatever. Marriage proper is performed by the first cohabitation; but even prior to this, the marriage becomes legalized by means of a symbolic action. The 585

[1] See Jochelson, Wandering Tribes, p. 25.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

585 mother warns the bride that the bridegroom has obtained the right to take her. Custom requires that the bride shall not surrender without a struggle, even if she love her bridegroom. Should the bridegroom find his bride undressed in the separate sleeping-tent which she is given before marriage, he would not touch her, considering this accessibility as an offence to himself. The bride's resistance is a test of her chastity.[1]

Accordingly, with the aid of her friends, the bride ties up with thongs the sleeves and trousers of her combination-suit, so that it cannot be taken off without untying or cutting the thongs. On the day when the bridegroom obtains the right to seize the bride, the latter goes about thus tied up, and tries to run away when her bridegroom approaches her. The bridegroom seizes an opportunity to attack her unawares, to tear or cut the garments with a knife, and touch her sexual organs with his hand. When he has succeeded in doing so, the bride ceases to resist, and submissively leads the bridegroom to her tent. If the bride loves her bridegroom, she runs straight to her sleeping-tent, where the young man, who follows her, can more easily manage her and tear her clothes. If she dislikes him, however, she endeavors to run out of the house, and hides in a neighboring house; but the parents, if the bridegroom is desirable, hinder her from running out. Being a symbol of copulation, the act of touching the bride's sexual organs makes her the man's wife. In one of the myths[2] we also meet with this custom. When Moon-Woman does not trust Eme'mqut's promise to marry her, he touches her sexual organs with his hand, and says that thenceforth he will not deceive her, for this contact is the same as marriage. A similar symbolic act was performed also among the ancient Kamchadal.[3]

Sometimes the bride is aided by her friends and other women in the act of resistance. In this struggle a good thrashing often falls to the lot of the bridegroom. If unsuccessful, he repeats his attacks several times. If the bride does not want the bridegroom, it is hard to take possession of her; and at times the groom has to give up all further attempts, and let his service go for nought.

It is related that in former times, not women alone, but the bride's male relatives as well, used to defend her, and beat the groom when he tried to seize the bride. In this conduct of the bride's kinsfolk, some ethnologists might see a symbol of the ancient practice of capturing wives. Without undertaking here to inquire into the question whether capture was at any period the exclusive or prevalent form of contracting marriages, I can

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[1] I think it is of interest to quote here Steller's curious explanation of the origin of the Kamchadal custom (similar to that of the Koryak), in accordance with which the bride does not at once yield to the bridegroom. He thinks that it is done in imitation of animals: a bitch, too, does not at once yield to the dog (Steller, p. 345).

[2] See Part I, p. 176.

[3] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 195; and Steller, p. 344. According to Steller's statement, the bridegroom had to put his finger into the bride's vagina.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

only remark that I consider the thrashing of the groom as the final act in testing his adroitness, bravery, and endurance, and not as a symbolic remnant of marriage by capture. 585

Of course, along with the other methods of obtaining wives, the Koryak, in former times, resorted to carrying away women, or taking away by force both girls and married women, I have spoken of the "wife-snatcher-strong-men."[1] In Koryak mythology we find some tales of girls being carried away by force. In one tale[2] Big-Raven, the ancestor of the Koryak, carries off a girl from the kamak for his son Eme'mqut; and in another[3] Eme'mqut himself steals the daughter of the kamak. But if we take into consideration that among the Koryak marriage is rather endogamic than exogamic, and that in war the conquerors usually slew the children of the vanquished lest they should grow up to become avengers, and their women lest they should bear avengers,[4] it seems plausible that the custom of capturing wives from foreign tribes or clans never prevailed among the Koryak to any extent. 583 174

Marriage is accompanied by neither feast nor shamanistic ceremonies. The daughter and the son-in-law either leave at once for the young man's house, or they remain for some time in her father's house. In some localities, after a successful "bride-seizing," the bridegroom goes home and sends his parents, or other elder relatives, to fetch the bride. When the bride approaches the house of her bridegroom's parents, the latter come out with firebrands taken from the hearth to meet her. This reception symbolizes the acceptance of the bride into the family cult which the hearth represents. Beyond her clothes and appurtenances for woman's work, the bride brings almost nothing into her father-in-law's house. The bed and sleeping-tent for the couple are prepared by the bridegroom's family. However, the bride brings along presents of clothing, meat, and other things, for the bridegroom's mother and sisters, and her own reindeer if she be a Reindeer Koryak. If the bride is the first daughter-in-law in the house, the mother-in-law usually hands the whole household over to her care, and interferes only if the daughter-in-law proves to be an inexperienced housewife. On entering the house, the bride immedately sets out to prepare the meal. The Maritime Koryak do not invite any guests, and the meal has purely a family character. Among the Reindeer Koryak, at the meeting of the bride, one or several reindeer are sacrificed to The-Master-on-High and his son, Cloud-Man, protector of married couples.[5] From one myth[6] it appears that non-performance of this duty brings punishment from the deity. In former times the bridegroom's mother or elder brother used to anoint the bride's forehead and abdomen with the blood of the sacrificial reindeer. This, too, evidently meant the adoption of the bride into the new family, and her introduction to the new hearth, by means of sacrificial 585 [782]

[1] See pp. 501 and 754; and Part I, pp. 140, 145, 227. [2] See Part I, p. 210. [3] Ibid., p. 324.
[4] See Chapter XIII. [5] See Part I, pp. 26, 93. [6] Ibid., p. 300.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

585 blood. This rite was called "dying red," and, as I was told, it has been preserved among the Reindeer Koryak on the Palpal until now.

591 Although, as a rule, the bride goes to the house of her husband's parents,
595 there are also cases where the son-in-law settles in his father-in-law's house; namely, when there are no sons in the bride's family. In such a case the future father-in-law says to the young man, "If you care to come to stay with me altogether in the place of a son, come; but if you intend to take the wife away with you afterwards, you need not come."

In order to determine the relative number of cases where the bridegroom goes over to his father-in-law's house, I registered 181 marriages; and among these, in 11 cases only (6%) did the son-in-law settle in his father-in-law's house.

After the bride has lived for some time in her father-in-law's house, she and her husband go to visit her parents, where they are also met with firebrands from the hearth; and the bridegroom, on his part, brings presents, so that the two families exchange gifts. A similar exchange of presents and visiting of the bridegroom's parents by the young couple, take place when the young man settles in the bride's house.

562 Position of Women in the Family. — The family organization of the
593 Koryak is of patriarchal character. The father is the head of the family, though his power over wife and children is not absolute. The mutual relations of the other members of the family rest on the principle of seniority. If the father grows feeble or dies, his brother or eldest son, or, in the absence of these, his adopted son-in-law who is married to the eldest daughter, becomes the head of the family.[1] The principle of seniority influences also the interrelations of the female members of the family. The authority over household affairs belongs to the mother, to the eldest sister if married to the adopted son-in-law, or, if any brothers, to the wife of the eldest brother.

581 Though nominally the father can marry off his daughter on his own authority, he nevertheless not only consults his wife and eldest son, but often takes into consideration even the likes or dislikes of his daughter. Cases occur where the daughter does not submit to the father's or elder relative's authority in the choice of a bridegroom. Their will is not forced upon her. This attitude is also mirrored in the myths. Thus, Root-Man wanted to give his daughter in marriage to Eme'mqut; but she would not yield, and the bridegroom had to give up service.[1] Young men often go to serve for a bride, in spite of the non-approval of the "elder" or "elders" of their own families. Should a girl run away to her lover's house against the will of her kindred, her parents would not demand her return, as she went of her own accord. When asked what their guiding principle is, in their choice of a bride or a bridegroom, the Koryak answer that they pay no attention to looks; what is

[1] See Part I, pp. 135, 218.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

in the common use of the skin boat, if he remains in the same village. In case of the death of the father or of a childless brother, the brother who keeps house for himself receives a portion of the inheritance, even if his brother's widow passes on to another, younger brother. I have already said that girls, on marrying into other families, take with them nothing but their clothes. The reindeer which the bride takes along are often delivered by her kinsfolk to her father-in-law, not immediately after the wedding, but according to the most convenient moment, considering what season is most favorable for the welfare of the herd.

The reindeer are the property of all the members of the family, but the movements of the herd are directed by the father. According to custom, each newly born child, irrespective of sex, receives one reindeer-heifer or more with a special mark on the ear.[1] This gives each member of the family a share in the herd later on. Under favorable conditions, a whole herd may be formed by the yearly increase of the herd of these heifers, before the child is ready to marry. Of course, the original herd belongs to the father; but considering that each child has its own reindeer, and that the wife and daughters-in-law retain as their property the reindeer which they brought in marriage, the whole herd of a large family belongs to a group of interrelated proprietors, under the direction of the eldest male. This elder may be the eldest brother or paternal uncle. On the father's death, the original herd is divided up among the sons, and, in the absence of children, among the brothers of the deceased. At marriage, daughters usually receive a share of the original herd from their father, in addition to their own reindeer. Some Koryak divide their deer equally among their sons and daughters, and give a proportionate part to the daughter at the time of her marriage;[2] but then the daughter is no longer entitled to inherit part of the herd on her father's death. If an unmarried girl is at home when her father dies, her brothers give her the reindeer at the time of her marriage. If a wife leaves her husband or is cast out by him, her relatives take back her reindeer. I have already said that divorces are very rare. After the birth of children, who are heirs to both their mother's and father's reindeer, the husband manages his wife's reindeer more independently. In general, the eldest member of the family manages the common herd of the family entirely without control. He designates which reindeer are to be killed for meat, clothing, sacrifices, and sale. He oversees the pasture and herdsman, and picks out the reindeer to be trained for harness. Of course, he often consults his wife or eldest son.

The parting of brothers, or the separation of a married son from the

[1] See p. 492.

[2] In Tale 86 Yiñea-ñeut marries Magpie-Man. They eat up all the reindeer which Big-Raven had given them. Yiñea-ñeut comes to her father to ask for food; and Big-Raven says, "You ate your share of reindeer, I have nothing else to give you" (Part I, p. 259).

11: Kennan--196 T-3 (1865) 1870 Koryak
116, 585 Reindeer

"The marriage ceremony of the Koraks is especially remarkable for its entire originality, and for the indifference which it manifests to the sensibilities of the bridegroom. In no other country does there exist such a curious mixture of sense and absurdity as that which is dignified in the social life of the Koraks with the name of marriage; and among no other people, let us charitably hope, is the unfortunate bridegroom subjected to such humiliating indignities. The contemplation of marriage is, or ought to be, a very serious thing to every young man; but to a Korak of average sensibility it must be absolutely appalling. No other proof of bravery need ever be exhibited than a certificate of marriage (if the Koraks have such documents), and the bravery rises into positive heroism when a man marries two or three times. I once knew a Korak in Kamtchatka who had four wives, and I felt as much respect for his heroic bravery as if he had charged with the Six Hundred at Balaklava.

The ceremony, I believe, has never been described; and inadequate as a description may be to convey an idea of the reality, it will perhaps enable Americal lovers to realize what a calamity they escaped when they were born in America and not in Kamtchatka."

"The tent which we had entered was an unusually large one, containing twenty-six 'pologs' arranged in a continuous circle around its inner circumference. The open space in the centre around the fire was crowded with the dusky faces and half-shaven heads of the Korak spectators, whose attention seemed about equally divided between sundry kettles and troughs of 'manyalla,' boiled venison, marrow, frozen tallow, and [198] similar delicacies, and the discussion of some controverted point of marriage etiquette. Owing to my ignorance of the language, I was not able to enter thoroughly into the merits of the disputed question; but it seemed to be ably argued on both sides. Our sudden entrance seemed to create a temporary diversion from the legitimate business of the evening. The tattooed women and shaven-headed men stared in open-mouthed astonishment at the pale-faced guests who had come unbidden to the marriage-feast, having on no wedding garments. Our faces were undeniably dirty, our blue hunting-shirts and buck-skin pants bore the marks of two months' rough travel, in numerous rips, tears, and tatters, which were only partially masked by a thick covering of reindeer hair from our fur 'kookhlánkas.' Our general appearance, in fact, suggested a more intimate acquaintance with dirty 'yourts,' mountain thickets, and Siberian storms, than with the civilizing influences of soap, water, razors, and needles. We bore the curious scrutiny of the assemblage, however, with the indifference of men who were used to it, and sipped our hot tea while waiting for the ceremony to begin. I looked curiously around to see if I could distinguish the happy candidates for matrimonial honors; but they were evidently

concealed in one of the closed pologs. The eating and drinking seemed by this time to be about finished, and an air of expectation and suspense pervaded the entire crowd. Suddenly we were startled by the loud and regular beating of a native 'barabán' or bass drum, which fairly filled the tent with a volume of sound. At the same instant the tent opened to permit the passage [199] of a tall, stern-looking Korak, with an armful of willow sprouts and alder branches, which he proceeded to distribute in all the pologs of the tent. 'What do you suppose that's for?' asked Dodd in an under-tone. 'I don't know,' was the reply; 'keep quiet and you'll see.' The regular throbs of the drum continued throughout the distribution of the willow sticks, and at its close the drummer began to sing a low, musical recitative, which increased gradually in volume and energy until it swelled into a wild, barbarous chant, timed by the regular beats of the heavy drum. A slight commotion followed, the front curtains of all the pologs were thrown up, the women stationed themselves in detachments of two or three at the entrance of each polog, and took up the willow branches which had been provided. In a moment a venerable native, whom we presumed to be the father of one of the parties, emerged from one of the pologs near the door, leading a good-looking young Korak and the dark-faced bride. Upon their appearance the excitement increased to the pitch of frenzy, the music redoubled its rapidity, the men in the centre of the tent joined in the uncouth chant, and uttered at short intervals peculiar shrill cries of wild excitement. At a given signal

from the native who had led out the couple, the bride darted suddenly into the first polog, and began a rapid flight around the tent, raising the curtains between the pologs successively, and passing under. The bridegroom instantly followed in hot pursuit; but the women who were stationed in each compartment threw every possible impediment in his way, tripping up his unwary feet, hold-[200]ing down the curtains to prevent his passage, and applying the willow and alder switches unmercifully to a very susceptible part of his body as he stooped to raise them. The air was filled with drum-beats, shouts of encouragement and derision, and the sound of the heavy blows which were administered to the unlucky bridegroom by each successive detachment of women as he ran the gantlet. It became evident at once that despite his most violent efforts he would fail to overtake the flying Atalanta before she completed the circuit of the tent. Even the golden apples of Hesperides would have availed him little against such disheartening odds; but with undismayed perseverance he pressed on, stumbling headlong over the outstretched feet of his female persecutors, and getting constantly entangled in the ample folds of the reindeer-skin curtains, which were thrown with the skill of a matador over his head and eyes. In a moment the bride had entered the last closed polog near the door, while the unfortunate bridegroom was still struggling with his accumulating misfortunes about half way around the tent. I expected to see him relax his efforts and give up the contest when the bride disappeared, and was preparing to protest strongly in his behalf against the unfairness of the trial; but, to my surprise, he still struggled on, and with a final plunge

burst through the curtains of the last polog and rejoined his bride. The music suddenly ceased, and the throng began to stream out of the tent. The ceremony was evidently over. Turning to Meroneff, who with a delighted grin had watched its progress, we inquired what it all meant. 'Were they [201] married?'—'Da's,' was the affirmative reply. 'But,' we objected, 'he didn't catch her.'—'She waited for him, your honor, in the last polog, and if he caught her there it was enough.' — 'Suppose he had not caught her there, then what?' — 'Then,' answered the Cossack, with an expressive shrug of commiseration, 'the "Caidnak" (poor fellow) would have had to work two more years.' This was pleasant—for the bridegroom! To work two years for a wife, undergo a severe course of willow sprouts at the close of his apprenticeship, and then have no security against a possible breach of promise on the part of the bride. His faith in her constancy must be unlimited. The intention of the whole ceremony was evidently to give the woman an opportunity to marry the man or not, as she chose, since it was obviously impossible for him to catch her under such circumstances, unless she voluntarily waited for him in one of the pologs. The plan showed a more chivalrous regard and deference for the wishes and preferences of the gentler sex than is common in an unreconstructed state of society; but it seemed to me, as an unprejudiced observer, that the same result might have been obtained without so much abuse of the unfortunate bridegroom! Some regard ought to have been paid to his feelings, if he was a man. I could not ascertain the

significance of the chastisement which was inflicted by the women upon the bridegroom with the willow switches. Dodd suggested that it might be emblematical of married life—a sort of foreshadowing of future domestic experience; but in view of the masculine Korak character, this hardly seemed to me probable. [202] No woman in her senses would try the experiment a second time upon one of the stern, resolute men who witnessed the ceremony, and who seemed to regard it then as perfectly proper. Circumstances would undoubtedly alter cases.

Mr. A.S. Bickmore, in the American Journal of Science for May, 1868, notices this curious custom of the Koraks, and says that the chastisement is intended to test the young man's 'ability to bear up against the ills of life;' but I would respectfully submit that the ills of life do not generally come in that shape, and that switching a man over the back with willow sprouts is a very singular way of preparing him for future misfortunes of any kind."